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YPSILANTI HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM.

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YPSILANTI PUBLIC SCHOOLS, MICH.

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ATTEMPTS WERE MADE IN THE PROJECT OUTLINED HERE TO MODIFY TEACHER ATTITUDES TOWARD NEGRO CHILDREN, TO EQUIP TEACHERS WITH SKILLS TO DO A BETTER JOB OF TEACHING, TO ACCCOMPLISH THE SAME OBJECTIVES WITH THE SCHOOL PRINCIPALS, AND TO SURVEY BUILDING NEEDS IN TERMS OF CONTINUED DESEGREGATION IN THE SCHOOLS. A CORE GROUP OF TEACHERS WITH PREVIOUS EXPERIENCE WORKING WITH NEGRO CHILDREN SPENT A SEMESTER DEVELOPING RECOMMENDATIONS FOR THE WHOLE ELEMENTARY STAFF TO UTILIZE. DURING THE SCHOOL YEAR DISCUSSION GROUPS WERE FORMED ON LANGUAGE ARTS, MOTIVATION AND SELF-CONCEPT, CLASSROOM CONTROL, AND PARENT-COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS, AND ORGANIZATIONAL MEETINGS WERE HELD. DURING THE SUMMER EIGHT TEACHERS LEARNED INTERVIEW TECHNIQUES AND MET WITH PARENTS OF 52 NEGRO CHILDREN TO DEVELOP A WARM ONE-TO-ONE RELATIONSHIP BEFORE SCHOOL OPENED IN THE FALL. A FINAL 2-DAY WORKSHOP WAS HELD TO INTRODUCE THE PROGRAM TO NEW TEACHERS. AFTER A VERY GOOD START ONLY A MINORITY OF THE TEACHERS MAINTAINED POSITIVE VIEWS TOWARD THE PROJECT. THEY FELT FORCED TO ATTEND MEETINGS WHICH THEY SAW AS INSULTING, SINCE "ANY GOOD TEACHER KNEW HOW TO TEACH ALL CHILDREN." CHILDREN'S REACTIONS, AS EXPRESSED ON TAPES, REVEALED WIDESPREAD MISINFORMATION AND RESENTMENT, IN SPITE OF THE FACT THAT TEACHERS DID NOT INDICATE THEIR FEELINGS TO THE STUDENTS. THE NEW TEACHER ORIENTATION PRODUCED SIMILAR RESULTS. THE SUMMER PROGRAM, FOR WHICH TEACHERS VOLUNTEERED AND WERE PAID A STIPEND, WAS MUCH MORE SUCCESSFUL, INDICATING THAT REAL LIFE EXPERIENCES ARE MORE VALUABLE THAN LISTENING TO TALKS AND PARTICIPATING IN SMALL DISCUSSION GROUPS. THE BUILDING SURVEY, COMPLETED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN BUREAU OF SCHOOL SERVICES, INDICATES A NEED FOR SEVERAL NEW SCHOOLS AT ALL LEVELS IN THE NEAR FUTURE. A SEPARATE STUDY OF THE TEACHERS' EVALUATION OF THE PROGRAM IS INCLUDED. (AF)

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Ypsilanti Human Relations Program

Initiated by Dr. Ray W. Barber
Superintendent of Schools

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The Civil Rights Act of 1964
Clyde Briggs, Director

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YPSILANTI, MICHIGAN, HUMAN RELATIONS PROJECT

A. PURPOSE:

1. To modify the attitudes, when they are less optimal, of the Ypsilanti elementary teachers so as to enhance an understanding, acceptance, and empathy for Negro students. There are two groups of teachers involved: the 16 who currently have students from the Perry area in their classroom and the remaining 150 teachers who will have such students in their room next year. Both groups of teachers must be reached if the objective is to be achieved.

2. To provide the elementary teachers in the system with the knowledge and skills which will enable them to do an effective job of educating Negro students.

3. To modify the attitudes, when they are less than minimal, of the elementary school administrators so as to enhance an understanding, acceptance, and empathy for Negro students.

4. To provide the elementary school administrators with the knowledge and skills necessary to administrate effectively newly desegregated buildings.

5. To provide the administration of the school system with information about desirable sites for constructing additional buildings so as to facilitate the continued desegregation at the high school level.

PROCEDURES:

In order to achieve goals 1 and 2, and simultaneously overcome the obstacle of teacher resistance, a plan was developed to use the teachers,* who currently have transported students in their rooms,

*Plus some other staff members to represent other buildings or projects in the school system.

as a Core Committee to explore the problems, present and incipient, incidental to desegregation, analyze the causitive factors, and develop recommendations for handling these situations for the rest of their colleagues in the school system. The problems examined extend into the academic area, into the parent and community relations domain, into Negro-White peer relations, into the personal relationships between student and teacher, into the motivational problems of minority group children and into specific problems related to transportation.

The approach shifted the role of the Core Committee teachers from passive recipient to active participant, and from a student who is learning, to an instructor developing her own curriculum. The new role was not only a more comfortable one for classroom teachers but was in keeping with contemporary theories of learning and motivation. It had the additional advantage of casting the project in a positive frame of reference. The Core Committee's function was not to review the problems ad nauseam but to formulate solutions to the difficulties they perceived and experienced. They selected their own resource people to assist them in developing their ideas but without question, the project was theirs -- to lead, to develop and for which they received full credit.

In a second phase of the in-service training program,*the recommendations developed by the Core Committee were discussed with the remaining elementary teachers in the school system. Leadership in the discussions was taken by the 30 members of the Core Committee. This

*Funding is being requested under the Civil Rights Act for Phase II. only.

was logical in view of the fact that the recommendations were theirs, and they were most conversant with the material. Unrelated to these issues, but of major significance, was the fact that the larger group of teachers was likely to be more receptive to instruction by their peers, concerning materials developed by their peers, than they would be to advice from "outsiders" or supervising administrators.

Program Content:

The Core Committee was broken down into five sub-committees each of which focused its attention on one of the following areas: Reading and Language Arts in grades K-3, Reading and Language Arts in grades 4-6, motivation and self-concept, classroom discipline, parent and community relations. Each of the sub-committees read the pertinent literature in its particular sphere, talked with experts in the field and community leaders, and prepared its own material which summarized the groups' conclusions about the most appropriate ways for classroom teachers to cope with problematic situations in that particular area. The groups who worked in the academic area for example explored the new curricular material and equipment designed to facilitate the development of reading skills amongst disadvantaged children. the sub-committee studying motivation and achievement became knowledgeable about current findings which highlight the importance of fear of failure, need achievement, and the implications of the lack of internalized controls. The group focusing on parents and the community explored what is known about the values and child-rearing techniques of Negro parents and the approaches that have been found most fruit-

ful in bringing alienated parents and middle-class oriented school personnel closer together. The group exploring classroom discipline examined concepts relating to limit setting, reinforcement, therapeutic milieus, etc. Each group followed its own path to reach its objectives. The chairmen of the committees met weekly to maintain the cohesion of the Core Committee and the large group met at least once each month from October through January to share its thinking with the other members.

In Phase II, each of the Core Committee met with approximately six other elementary teachers and shared the conclusions reached and the materials prepared by the smaller group. These meetings took place on a bi-weekly basis from February through May.

The emphasis in the entire program was on the mobilization and utilization of the skills of the local staff members, supplemented by outside expertise as called upon by the classroom teachers when assistance was needed in specific areas.

Frequency and Duration of Training Sessions:

The In-Service Training Program began with a two day workshop on October 12th and 13th to orient and motivate the Core Committee members and to assist them in focusing on the major problem areas. An all-day meeting was held November 4th during which time the sub-committees were organized and began to function. From that time until January 1st the Sub Committees met weekly, the Sub-Committee Chairmen met weekly and the entire Core Committee met monthly. All of the meetings were one and a half hours in length and were held during a lunch hour or after school.

From January 1-15 the Core Committee members wrote up the conclusions they had reached and the recommendations they had decided upon. These meetings were held as needed during the period.

Early in February an all-day workshop was held for the elementary teachers in the school system to initiate their involvement in the in-service training program. From February 6th through May 30th, bi-weekly meetings after school or during lunch time were held in the various elementary buildings. They were one and one-half hours in length and contained no more than seven discussants led by a member of the Core Committee.

All of the meetings were held during the regular working day. When necessary, substitutes were hired to take over the classes of the Core Committee members.

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HUMAN RELATIONS

Results of the In-Service Training Program:

The Ypsilanti Human Relations Program was evaluated in several ways in order to tap a variety of sources of information, in the process of measuring the effectiveness of different aspects of the program.

The program which was in operation between January and June of 1967 was evaluated in the following manner:

1. All of the teachers present at one of the first meetings were asked at the conclusion to evaluate the session through the use of a structured post-meeting questionnaire.
2. All of the teachers attending the last meeting were asked to evaluate the entire program through the use of structured questionnaire.
3. A representative sample of Core and non-Core teachers taking part in the program were interviewed at length in June by a staff member of the Institute for Social Research of the University of Michigan.
4. Three groups of Negro fifth grade students who were transported from the Perry School area were interviewed in a group discussion by a Negro interviewer. The sessions, which focused on the students' views of the desegregation program, were taped and transcribed. Three groups of white students who were the classmates of the Negro students were similarly interviewed in group sessions by a white interviewer and these sessions too were taped and transcribed.

The supplementary in-service training program conducted in the summer of 1967 was evaluated by participant teachers completing semi-structured questionnaires concerning their views of the program.

The results of each of the above evaluation techniques will be discussed in turn. All of the findings will then be integrated and some conclusions drawn regarding the effectiveness of the entire program. Recommendations to other school systems attempting to conduct a similar program will also be offered.

Re: The Evaluation of the January - June Program

The first meeting, held in the winter, was evaluated by forty of those who attended as close to "very good." On a five-point scale in which #5 represented very good and #1 very poor, the mean rating was 4.3. Although some comments were made that the information provided was already in the teachers' repertoire, most of the members of the audience responded positively, praising the speaker as inspiring and recommending that he be brought back for more talks.

The evaluation made in June of the entire program was far less enthusiastic. Slightly over 100 teachers completed the questionnaire and the mean rating on the same five-point scale was now 2.9. Among criticisms offered in the section requesting comments were that the information as a whole had not been concrete enough, that problems were stirred up (which presumably would have otherwise remained dormant) and that all children were alike and thus discussions on specific problems of Negro students are unnecessary and a waste of time. A minority expressed more positive views stating that the small group discussions gave teachers a chance to express their views and that the information offered was very helpful. Some teachers offered specific suggestions of how the program might have been improved, such as through including Negro parents in some of the discussions and maintaining one permanent discussion group

throughout the program so that the members could really get to know one another and speak freely.

The reasons underlying some of the displeasure became evident in the intensive interviews. (A copy of the full report from the Institute of Social Research is enclosed.) The U. of M. report indicated that many teachers resented being forced to attend meetings. Although time was made available by closing school slightly earlier, and no meeting extended beyond 4 P. M., many of the teachers felt imposed upon. Another source of the disaffection was the feeling by many teachers that any good teacher knew how to teach all children. Suggestions that this might not be true only threatened them, angered them, and/or aroused feelings they preferred not to examine. Evidence that no one was free from prejudice, and that being "color blind" was not necessarily beneficial to children, was not well received. The Institute for Social Research indicates disturbing their equanimity is not necessarily an undesirable effect.

It was clear that the members of the Core Committee were much more favorable to the program than the non-Core staff members. Whether this was due to the quantity or the quality of the involvement cannot be discerned.

The opinions of the teachers make the students' stand out in stark relief. From the tapes it was obvious the youngsters, both Negro and white, were thoroughly confused as to why the desegregation program was instituted, and had some very negative feelings toward one another. Few of the students appeared to become well acquainted with members of the other race. At best, there was neutrality. Some students considered extending themselves and offering a closer relationship to a student of the other race but feared their parents' reaction. Misinformation and resentment was rampant. The data provided by the tapes were somewhat surprising since the group discussions with the teachers

throughout the year gave no indication of how the students themselves felt.

Re: The Evaluation of the Summer Program

The reaction of the new teachers who participated in the half-day orientation program was similar to the earlier evaluations. On a seven-point scale in which #1 represented Very Effective and #7 Very Ineffective, the program (consisting primarily of the same speaker as addressed the staff in January,) was given a mean rating of 2.7. However, the participants were asked if they felt the attitudes or knowledge of the participants toward the school desegregation program was altered in any ways as a result of the program, only one out of ten responding said "yes." The others felt they could not judge or said "no." The written comments that were made included statements that listening to talks, and participating in small discussion groups was ineffective in creating change. Real life experiences are necessary for genuine attitude modification.

This estimate is apparently fairly accurate. When the participants of the summer program (involving primarily visits to the homes of Negro youngsters to be transported to a new school in September) were asked "Do you feel the attitudes and knowledge of the summer staff toward Negro students was altered in any way as a result of the summer work?", they were unanimous in giving an affirmative answer. All seven said their attitudes and knowledge were altered and went on to elaborate about how much had been learned by seeing the children's homes first hand. Typical of all seven responses was the statement, "Seeing the homes would make any teacher more sympathetic with the child and aware of the plausible reasons for the lacks in his academic background." The fact that the participants of the summer program were volunteers who were being reimbursed for their work may be affecting the results, however.

Conclusions:

Two findings emerge clearly from the various evaluation instruments and techniques used. One, there are problems to be dealt with and two, attempting to resolve them by having teachers talk about the topic in a relatively abstract fashion is not an effective approach. It cannot be determined whether the response to the summer program was so overwhelmingly positive because only reimbursed volunteers were involved or because a concrete task was assigned. Undoubtedly both factors contributed to the effect but it is our view that the nature of the program was the more potent variable. The teachers were performing a specific function, one that was seen as relatively significant. In addition, it was gratifying because the parents and children who were visited responded positively to the teachers. Thus a sense of accomplishment was attained; attitude change was merely a by-product.

In conclusion, it appears that if an in-service program is to offered, it will be more meaningful if it is imbedded in a concrete service to the children and their parents. Perhaps it is only after such a service that meaningful discussions can be held concerning implications of what was observed. Working with those who wish to participate and who are paid is obviously much easier than giving time off to an entire staff. This technique, however, may leave the staff members untouched who have the most negative attitudes toward minority group students. It is clear that a program involving reimbursement for the performance of a concrete service for a non-volunteer group of teachers needs to be tested. If this project does no more than facilitate the exploration of such an approach, it will have served a useful function.

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THE SUMMER HUMAN RELATIONS PROGRAM

A. PURPOSE

1. To increase the ability of some former participants in the Human Relations Program in relating individually to Negro disadvantaged parents.
2. To increase the abilities of some former participants in the Human Relations Program in helping the parents of classmates become better acquainted.
3. To increase the knowledge of elementary teachers new to the system about the school's desegregation program and the past year's Human Relations Program.
4. To increase the skill of elementary teachers new to the system in relating individually to disadvantaged Negro parents.

B. PROCEDURE

1. Personal home visits were made to Negro parents whose children were to be transported to other schools for the first time.* Information about the school's program, the bus schedule, the P.T.A., extra-curricular activities, etc. were offered. Every effort was made to determine what questions and concerns the parents had so that these could be dissipated. In addition, the parents were highly encouraged to participate in school affairs in whichever area interested them the most.

* This involved 52 families with children entering 6th grade.

B. PROCEDURES (continued)

2. One social activity involving both Negro and White parents was arranged. A pot-luck supper was held at the end of the summer program. In this way the foundation of future parent-class meetings was laid. In both personal visits and group activities the teachers were supervised by a school staff member who is experienced and skilled in working with both Negro and White parents.

C. ORIENTATION PROGRAM FOR NEW ELEMENTARY TEACHERS

A two-day workshop was held to discuss details of the School System's desegregation program, the sociological make-up of the community, the previous year's Human Relations Program, etc.

The orientation program was conducted by a staff member who was knowledgeable and skilled in the area of Human Relations.

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ABSTRACT OF THE FINAL REPORT

B) Purpose -- The Ypsilanti, Michigan, Human Relations Project had a five-fold purpose. An attempt was made to modify teacher attitudes toward Negro children, to equip teachers with skills to do a better job of teaching, to accomplish the same objectives with the school principals, and to survey our building needs in terms of continued desegregation.

C) Procedure -- A core group of teachers with previous experience in working with Negro youngsters after a semester's work in exploring, analyzing, and developing recommendations served as leaders for the whole elementary staff the second semester. They formulated their own solutions to the problems they perceived and experienced. At times they were involved with resource personnel in developing ideas, but the project was theirs -- to lead and develop.

Five groups were formed which focused on language arts, motivation and self-concept, classroom control, and parental and community relations. Conclusions were shared in small group discussions involving the whole staff.

The program was carried out on school time with a two day orientation workshop, an all day organizational meeting, followed by weekly sub-committee meetings. Conclusions were written up at the end of the first semester. At the beginning of the new semester, a system wide orientation meeting was held followed by bi-weekly small discussion group meetings.

In the summer a group of eight teachers learned interview techniques and met with parents of 52 Negro children to develop a warm one-to-one relationship before school opened in the Fall.

Finally a two day workshop was held to orient new teachers and bring them up to date on our program. A survey of our building needs was also completed by the University of Michigan Bureau of School Services.

D) Results and Conclusions -- After a very good start only a minority of the teachers experienced positive views toward the project. The rating, based on a five-point scale, dropped from 4.3 to 2.9. Teachers felt they were forced to attend meetings, and it angered them because they felt any good teacher knew how to teach all children. The University of Michigan Institute for Social Research believes that some good may yet come from having disturbed their eqanimity.

The children's reactions, as expressed on the tapes, were very revealing. Misinformation and resentment was widespread. This was in spite of the fact that the teachers did not indicate these feelings among their children.

D (continued)

Our two day orientation for new teachers resulted in a similar experience. It is felt that real life experiences are much more valuable than listening to talks and participating in small discussion groups. This was borne out in our summer program in which teachers volunteered, were paid a stipend, and became actively involved in establishing warm relations with Negro parents. There was unanimous agreement that visiting in the children's homes altered teacher's attitudes and knowledge concerning Negro children.

The building survey clearly indicates a need for several schools at all levels in the near future.

In conclusion, it appears that a concrete service to children offers much more potential for a meaningful in-service program in the future. Our project will have been useful if further exploration of a procedure involving reimbursement for non-volunteers can be tested in the future.

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POPULATION PROJECTIONS FOR THE YPSILANTI PUBLIC SCHOOLS

Summary:

The findings of this study of school population trends can be summarized as follows:

1. The declining number of births in recent years portends declining enrollments at the elementary school level for the years ahead. At the same time, secondary school enrollments will be increasing as the comparatively larger present elementary school population moves into the secondary schools.

2. The enrollment of children in private and parochial schools is now apparently stabilized at about 1200 students. If the Roosevelt School were to be closed, an added enrollment in the Public Schools of about 450 children could be expected.

3. While residential growth in the school district during the past ten years, as evidenced by school census and enrollment figures, has been negligible, there is a likelihood of growth in the years ahead. Given the availability of water and sewer services in areas not now so served, this growth has been estimated by knowledgeable advisors of the Board of Education as ranging from an annual growth rate of one per cent to an annual rate of ten percent. The highest growth rate, if it materializes, is viewed as more probable for the decade of the 1970s than for the intervening years.

Clearly there is a major difference between the low and the high predictions of growth. There is, therefore, urgent need for repeating the process of studying population projections, the repetitions occurring desirably at no greater than two year intervals. By so doing, future trends can be identified and measured, and revisions can be made in existing projections. It is also recommended that procedures be set up in the Central Office of the school system for the continuous gathering and tabulating of current information of population movements and residential growth.

The systematic study, year by year, of such data is needed for confirming or modifying the projections included in this report.

Finally, it should be remembered that the present population projections are based on the assumption that the age levels of children in the years ahead will correspond in quantity to the age levels which have prevailed in past years. Any marked increase in residential growth may, however, produce differing patterns of age groups from those in the past. The repeated checking of the projections submitted in this report is necessary in order to detect the development of both changes in the size of the population and in the pattern of age groups.

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EVALUATION OF YPSILANTI HUMAN RELATIONS TRAINING PROGRAM

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October 1967

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Abstract

This report attempts to review the reactions of a small sample of teachers to an in-service training program designed to help them teach in desegregated classrooms. The locale of the study is a small mid-western city, which this past year engaged in bussing Negro youngsters to several previously all white elementary schools. Twenty teachers received these Negro youngsters in their classrooms; we interviewed 9 of these teachers. In addition, we interviewed 11 other teachers who were scheduled to receive Negro youngsters in a massive bussing program the following year.

In general, the range of teachers' feelings and reactions to school desegregation was very broad. Those teachers who had Negro students in their classes this year felt the experience was anywhere from emotionally stimulating to exhausting. The majority of teachers felt that a few, or a minority, of Negro students in a class was okay, but if they were to have classes comprised of over 50% Negroes they could not manage it successfully. Most teachers also reported that if the desegregation of the schools had been a natural process, instead of the "artificial token bussing", it could have been accepted better by themselves, their students and the community.

Concerning the school system's human relations training program; some teachers resented having been forced into giving their time, others felt it was very enjoyable and beneficial. Some teachers learned from their discussions and interactions with their own colleagues of another race, and others felt the program was more detrimental than helpful. Some teachers came away from the meetings with new and confusing feelings such as "Negroes <u>are</u> different", "we should <u>expect</u> problems", "we <u>are</u> prejudiced"; before the meetings many had not felt the need to anticipate serious problems, nor had they thought that they themselves were prejudiced. Some of the teachers implied the meetings were operated at such a low level of professional trust and expertise that they were an insult to them as teachers. This report does not and can not evaluate adequately the training program in question; it does, however, present teachers' responses to that program. It is of course possible that with the most positive of reactions came the least insight and growth, and vice versa.

An Evaluation of a Human Relations Training Program Designed to Prepare Teachers for Desegregated Education

The primary purpose of this report is to present teachers' evaluations of an in-service human relations training program. The school system established such a program designed to encourage, facilitate, improve and support teachers' efforts in improving instruction in interracial classrooms. Teachers who received Negro youngsters in their classroom formed a "Core Committee" to help prepare and educate their own colleagues for future desegregation plans. Interviews with teachers attending or observing this training program provide us with three general types of reports: (1) teachers' direct responses to the content and style of the program; (2) teachers' changed perceptions of their youngsters and the potential for teaching their classes successfully, and; (3) teachers' statements of the kinds of assistance they feel they needed or will need in future interracial circumstances. In order for the reader to understand the instructional and personal context of this in-service program, as well as the teacher experiences to which the program was to be relevant, we have included brief reports of these teachers' reactions to some of the problems and possibilities of school desegregation.

Method and Sample

Interviews were conducted with 20 teachers in this school system; 9 of these teachers were members of the Core Committee and 11 were not. Included in the former group were two teachers who did not have any Negro students in their classes this year, but were placed on the committee because of their past experiences teaching in the all-Negro school. Five of the non-Core teachers had some Negro students in their class, but all of these youngsters were from the immediate neighborhood of the particular schools and were not part of the bussing program. The main difference in these two small samples, then, is not necessarily whether they had Negro youngsters in their classrooms, but whether they had students bussed into their classes and whether they were on the special committee concerned with preparing colleagues for desegregation. Two separate interviews schedules were designed for these 2 samples and each was pre-tested for relevancy, clarity and length. From the results of this preliminary test, the final questionnaires were developed

by the authors and approved by representatives of the school system.[1]

All of the Core Committee members who were interviewed were females, while there were 2 males among the 11 non-Core teachers included in the sample. Although most teachers in both groups were under 40 years of age, the non-Core teachers were generally even younger: 63% of this group was under 30 while 33% of the Core teachers were that young. Similar differences are evident with regard to the years of teaching experience attained by members of each group: 81% of the non-Core teachers had less than 5 years of professional experience, while only 33% of the Core teachers had that minimal teaching background.

The selection of the sample and scheduling of interviews was arranged by personnel from the superintendent's office, and those staff members also briefed the participating teachers regarding what to expect. The 9 Core Committee members in this sample were arbitrarily selected from a population of 20. The 11 non-Core members were selected from the remaining 130 teachers in the school system. All interviews were conducted during the school day, and a substitute teacher was acquired to take over the respective classroom while each teacher was being interviewed. Interviews were conducted in school, but in a private room where interviewer and respondent were not disturbed. The alloted time was 1/2 hour per teacher, with most interviews running generally a little over 30 minutes. Due to the quantity and quality of responses, most of the entire interviews were recorded on tape. Two interviews were not recorded; in one case the teacher made very few responses, and one other teacher objected to allowing the interview to be taped.

It appears as if the investigator and respondents maintained a high degree of rapport during the interviews. A single interviewer spoke with all the teachers, and her report of the collaborative posture of teachers notes that:

> At the onset, I introduced myself to them by name and explained briefly that I was from the University of Michigan, at the request of their school system, for the purpose of obtaining their reactions to the desegregation process and human relations training program. Although I had been forewarned that these teachers had been "researched to death" in the past, and as a result did not like researchers, I experienced very little

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[1] Examples of these questionnaires are attached as an appendix to this report. We wish to thank Miss Diane Hatch for her expert assistance in the formation of the interview schedules.

> difficulty as an outsider. In only one case could it be said I experienced any "hostility" and this was because the respondent thought I represented a certain point of view with which she disagreed. When she discovered that I was not predisposed in any particular direction, she responded quite openly and in detail. Generally, the teachers knew basically what I was there for and were quite willing, at times even eager, to make it known how they felt about the desegregation process and the human relations training program.

Because of the small size of the sample, and because of the dramatic and instructive character of some teachers' feelings, much of this report relies on representative quotations from individual teachers rather than statistical or quantitative summaries of the data.

Teacher Reactions to Certain Aspects of School Desegregation

All the teachers receiving Negro transferees were asked a variety of questions concerning their perceptions of and reactions to Negro youngsters and the ways youngsters of both races related with one another in the classroom. Three of the nine teachers on the Core Committee felt there were no differences between the new youngsters and their white students. For instance:

> A child is a child -- parents have the impression that a teacher may react differently if a child is a Negro. Both have the same basic needs for individual attention. They accept praise well and know if it is justly deserved.

> No, I have two that are quite quick, and three not so quick, and one has a great deal of trouble.

A number of teachers felt there were important differences between the Negro and white students; some of these perceived differences related to students' personal or cultural backgrounds while others reflected upon their prior classroom experience.

> They're noisier, I think, on the whole. But that may be what they were allowed to do in their previous school, so I can't say anything.

> Cleanliness -- their dirty fingernails. The children in my classroom are fascinated with physical differences, but the children realize that feelings could be hurt. They are similar in that they enjoy other children.

> Their speech patterns are different, because they are from a low income group.

> I think the underlying sensitivity of persecution. If things get tough and you discipline as you would discipline for the same set of factors for anybody, they tend to think that you're picking on them. They are super-sensitive about what they have coming to them like anybody else. I can understand it, too.

Some of these differences carry with them the potential for creating disruptive or alienative peer conditions in the classroom. When combined with what may be existing anxiety or resentment about being in an interracial classroom, we can see the potentiality for intergroup or interpersonal conflict in class. Chesler and Segal stress the importance of the first few days of school experience for entering youngsters' later adjustment to this new social and intellectual environment.[2] In the current study teachers were asked how the Negro students acted on the first day or days; in essence, whether they had acted in ways that seemed strange or difficult. Only one of the nine receiving teachers felt the Negroes behaved differently from the white students and thus created a problem soon after the term started.

> They were very docile and quite frightened and obedient. There was no problem. But after the first month of school they began to loosen up and act the way they would normally act in any classroom. They stuck together. If anything went wrong, they would just stick together. They'd move around and sit by each other...it's out of the ordinary. It is easier to get out and dodge traffic than to get out and dodge some of the stuff that goes on in the classroom. Its unreal. It isn't a typical, normal classroom situation. You really need experience to handle this yourself as a person, because you have to have something to fall back on in case something blows up. They never got to the point where they were backing me to the wall because I fought right back or I would not rationalize when they got emotionally involved in their little fights, because they aren't rational themselves, so you don't treat them as rational people. You just say they are wrong and give no reasons why and go on with the positive thing which you might do to bring the whole class around. And sometimes you simply have to send the troublemaker out into the hall, and say when you are ready to come in you may, but you don't let them lose face. This is one thing that the colored youngsters do not want; to lose face. You have to give them a way out, an alternative, a choice.

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[2] Chesler, M. and Segal, P. Characteristics of Negro Students Attending Previously All-White Public Schools in the Deep South. Ann Arbor, Michigan, Institute for Social Research, 1967.

All of the remaining Core Committee teachers felt that the Negro youngsters behaved just as any other child would when entering a strange school. Some of these comments still reflect tense or anxious behavior on the part of Negro transferees; for instance, all but one teacher reported that they thought the students were frightened. But most of these reactions obviously were reported as normal and appropriate student reactions to being in a strange building with strange peers.[3] Some teacher observations include:

> Normal, as any new child would act coming to a strange school. Some are show-offs and some are shy and not a word out of them. I couldn't see that they were any different in any way.
>
> I would say shy and a little leary, because it was a new school and they did not know anybody. But that rapidly passed. They got into the swing of things pretty quick.
>
> In the beginning, they sat together, but then I moved them around because I do that with all of my kids; you know, boy/girl, etc., to get rid of cliques. And they were separated and there was no opposition to this other than the normal.
>
> The Negro child is quieter -- more excitable. They chose their own partners, and sat together in small groups. One always sat with either white or Negro - they are now separated depending on the child.

Although these perceptions of youngsters' feelings seem to be common, only a small group of teachers reported any deliberate efforts to counter these anxieties and further reduce the possibility of racial subgroups being reinforced by separated seating patterns. In her discussion of things teachers can do to facilitate interracial adjustment, Noar explicitly suggests that teachers arrange seating patterns themselves: "You must make sure this is not done in terms (via youngsters choices) of whom to sit beside, lest the Negro children become isolated or segregated."[4]

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[3] Other reports of the anxiety felt or presumed to be felt by Negro youngsters entering a new white classroom include: Chesler and Segal, op.cit.; Katz, I. Review of Evidence Relating to Effects of Desegregation on the Intellectual Performance of Negroes, American Psychologist, 1964, 19, 381-399.

[4] Noar, G. The Teacher and Integration. Washington, D.C., National Education Association, 1966. p.4

Teachers were asked whether they paid any special attention to the Negro students either in the beginning or later during the year. A minority who reported that they didn't pay special attention offered various reasons for this posture.

> I tried to treat them like any other child.

> There was just so much going on for everybody, so many problems in the class as well, that I didn't pay any special attention to the Negro children. I have four speech problems that you have to practically isolate to understand what they're saying, and all kinds of other problems.

The majority, however, reported that their concerns about generally low levels of prior student preparation or problems in interracial relations did cause them to pay some special attention to Negro youngsters.

> Yes, I was aware all the time not to be strict. Then I was conscious of not being nicer to them than the others.

> I tried to make them feel comfortable, and I said that to the class too, because they knew that there were hard feelings on the part of the whites.

> I think I tried to not be overprotective by any matter, but to put myself in their place and think how they would feel coming into a new school and being definitely in the minority. So perhaps I was a little more sympathetic in terms of not letting anything come up that would be us-setting.

> Most of them are of lower achievement level, therefore, I do as I would for any low child - extra praise and encouragement.

Several teachers reported that they taught differently because of the Negro youngsters in class. For some this difference was a normal part of their approach to every individual youngster, for others it was a response to culturally or economically based characteristics of students.

> They have a special culture, and should be proud of it. We should be trying to preserve their background and integrate them. I would change my history and watch discipline the first six weeks.

> I teach differently, maybe because of Negro children, but mainly because in this school they have a low background or no background. I find that with the terrific reading span, say of four or five years, it is extremely difficult to use the material that they give you because very few children are actually at this grade level. So

> I had to resort to my own resources: unit work, dittos, field trips, projects, etc.
>
> I found I had to stress paying attention. They needed more oral questions. I needed to get them to do a little more. They need constant attention.

In an attempt to understand how teachers felt about the results of this school bussing program we asked the entire group of 20 what they thought the Negro students attending this previously all-white school might have gained or what they might have sacrificed. Thirteen of the teachers stressed gains in better understanding of white people and how the two races can get along and 5 teachers stressed academic gains.

> Well, the other side of the story, so to speak. Experience would be a better way to put it. There is just as much ignorance on their side about us as there is for us about their way. They really don't know; some have many preconceived ideas about white people and by the same token some of the children feel that way about the Negroes. And I think being together and interacting together, they can see that they can goof off as much as Mary and vice versa.
>
> Gained in academic level. Gained knowledge of white children. Grown up a bit. Learned more of white people as adults. How to get along better with white and Negroes.
>
> I think they learn to give and take a little more and they learn that the concept that all white people are bad isn't true.
>
> They might have gained the knowledge that there isn't a big difference between the white and the Negro.

The major gains in racial perceptions and interpretations were seen to be threefold: (1) a knowledge of whites including a recognition of white frailties, clearly teachers hope this will lead to an increase in the Negro youngsters' sense of self-esteem; (2) a knowledge of whites including a recognition that not all white people are bad or are antagonistic to Negroes; and (3) some experience in getting along with whites.

Most of the teachers who noted sacrifices the new students might have made emphasized problems connected with going to school outside of one's own physical neighborhood. In addition to noting the strains of having to eat lunch at school, stay at school all day, and take long bus rides, teachers saw social stresses such as loss of contact with neighborhood friends, or just the insecurity at being in a strange and lonely place.

Bussing is not too happy an experience; nor is eating lunch at the school everyday.

Children who have not caused problems have made emotional sacrifices, because when they had their friends knocked down they felt the same way. I think they took this personally just because he was the same color as they were. This was not them, although they took it as such.

They seem to have gotten their own way at other times, so they feel they have lost that privilege.

Isolation in the beginning - being set apart and removed from their friends that they walked to school with and all these kinds of things.

Experience like being guinea pigs.

Well, I think the biggest one is the fact that they are not attending their own neighborhood school. It's a real handicap for children because there is a lot of social life that goes on after school, and to and from school. If they are bussed in, they miss a lot because they have to leave when the bus leaves and they lose a lot of outside of the classroom contact. Also a feeling of detachment like I don't belong anywhere.

Finally, teachers were asked if any of their views of Negro youngsters changed during the year. Most respondents reported no change in perceptions, but a few did note some extremely varied new feelings:

I didn't have any preconceived ideas about them, so I can't say if...I wasn't looking for a check list, so all I can say is what I'd say about any student, some are good, some are not, some are poor students, some are not. I wasn't expecting anything, good, bad, or otherwise, -- children.

Yes, I was surprised and pleased that they can do as well. I perhaps underestimated their learning ability.

The only thing that I think differently about now is that these are normal for this type of youngster. Knowing this is true, I'm not going to get upset at myself and blame myself as a teacher, because that could happen to any teacher dealing with this type of youngster. You have to have guidelines and you keep drilling in the same old guidelines all the time. If you have well-behaved children you don't have to say more than ten times "walk in the halls". And you have to make everything positive. You can't say "don't run in the halls", because you can't suggest run, but you must say we <u>are</u> going to walk in the hall.

New problems and possibilities were discovered, it seems, by those teachers who now know Negro youngsters directly; some see that many of them are quite eager and capable learners and others see needs for special attention and distinctive teaching strategies.

Teacher Reactions to the Human Relations Training Program

One of the unique aspects of this school system's desegregation plan is that teachers designed and operated a special in-service human relations training program. This program had two critical purposes: (1) to help prepare receiving teachers for the particular problems that they might face in teaching in newly desegregated classrooms; (2) to utilize staff members who were having interracial teaching experiences (i.e. the Core Committee) as helpers of other teachers who would be in such situations the following year. Meetings for Core Committee work or Core Committee communication sessions with colleagues were, for the most part, held during school hours or between 3 and 4 pm. In the former case, substitutes were obtained to take over the classroom. This rather sophisticated and imaginative retraining design ran into several problems in execution, however. In this section we review reactions to this program with a view to creating new and improved designs for the future.

Teachers in both the Core and Non-Core samples were asked how they felt in general about the in-service program. The responses to this question are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Responses to the Human Relations Training Program

Group	Response				
	Positive	Mixed	Negative	Strongly Negative	Total
Core	2	4	2	1	9
Non-Core	1	1	4	5	11

The Core and non-Core groups differed considerably in their evaluation of the program, with the Core group expressing more positive and less negative feelings. Part of this difference, of course, may be accounted for by the fact that Core Committee teachers were in large part

responsible for the in-service program. Moreover, they were actually teaching newly desegregated classrooms at the time; they were probably experiencing some of the problems dealt with at the training sessions.

More specifically, all twenty teachers were asked what they liked or didn't like about this in-service program. There was a wide range of feelings expressed but the teachers who reacted negatively seemed to be much more adamant and specific. Some of the positive reactions mentioned include:

> The ones that were lectures were excellent because it was good, valuable information.
>
> Enjoyed small group discussion.
>
> It was very beneficial for the sharing of problems.

Different teachers seemed to appreciate and benefit from different aspects of the program. In this respect the flexible and varied series of training sessions that were planned must have maximized the opportunities for growth for the greatest number of teachers.

Some negative reactions focussed on the content of these meetings and others on the procedures utilized in setting up and operating training events. For instance, several teachers objected to the mandatory character of meetings in which they felt they had no say. Some clearly would have opted out of such sessions if they could have.

> I'm not sure if it did what they wanted it to, because I don't feel you can change a person with a meeting.
>
> I think one of the biggest mistakes made was that it was not made optional for those people interested and involved. I feel, personally, that they would have had a committee, maybe a smalier committee, but a better one. Because with my group we spent the better part of our committee work battling people that didn't want any part of it, rather than buckling down to the problems at hand and consequently we were not successful in terms of what we turned out. All we did was to reinforce positions of people who were already aggravated and aggravated some other people along with it. And when it was forced, automatically you had negative attitudes and people who were a little bit leery of the whole thing anyway.
>
> I liked nothing about it. It caused alot of hard feelings. It is not the teachers you have to get to but the parents. If teachers love children, they can teach any child. Both parents need education - Negro and white.

A number of other teachers felt that the content and style of the sessions reinforced rather than reduced, prejudical thinking. Because teachers were often left to their own resources, some felt bad ideas were shared and spread. Others felt degraded by the presumption that they needed help or that their own attitudes might get in the way of teaching Negro youngsters.

> The speakers that spoke were all geared to the white people being prejudiced against Negroes. I disagree. It was poor. Many Negroes took offense in the groups, many whites gave unrealistic and phony answers trying to impress the Negroes. It should have been geared to the human relations of all people - both the Negro and white, in all religions and classes.

> Three or four of the meetings I was in just turned into gripe sessions. The meetings did more to create prejudice than eliminate it. I think a lot of us went with the idea that we would get a little bit more of Negro history because we learned a lot about the prejudice of whites against the Negro, but I strongly feel that a lot of Negroes are also prejudiced against whites. And you would have to know these things to be able to work with it. They didn't really reach any conclusions.

> They got your mind so mixed up that if you were not prejudiced, they seemed to implant in your mind that there is something wrong with the Negro child and this is bad. I had no feelings toward them, but now I have the idea that I should be watching the Negro child because he is different. This is bad from my concern, because I had known nothing about them.

> Too much expectation of trouble was made. Only old ideas were tossed around in discussion groups; we needed trained people.

> Too many of us felt that were being told at the meeting, we were being degraded in the fact that they told us we were all prejudiced to begin with and a lot of us, of course felt that we weren't. Maybe underneath we all are. I don't know; I don't think so. But also, it made us too aware of Negro children being different when the ones we already have in the classroom.

It is clear, then, that the in-service training program failed in several ways to be helpful to teachers. Some teachers felt positive but many were quite clear in their evaluation that the program was not useful in preparing them for more successful teaching.

Another part of this program was the attempt to use the resources of Core Committee teachers, teachers who did receive Negro youngsters, to prepare another year of teachers for desegregation. Members of the first

group prepared materials and generally shared their experiences with colleagues. Those teachers who had been on the Committee were asked if they felt any responsibility to help their colleagues outside of what they did at the formal meetings. One teacher reported that since she felt that too much was being made of the integration process as it was, she wasn't going to add to it. Several of the respondents said that they did what they had to and would have done more if the need or request for further help had ever arisen. Not many reported that they took the initiative in offering help.

> Yes, I always brought back what we had done in groups, but otherwise, nothing.
>
> If anyone came to me with a problem, yes, but I'm not going to go out crusading for it. I have enough of my own.
>
> Yes, I did feel some responsibility. I felt that I could give some help. The situation never arose, however.

Of course these comments are not surprising. Teaching is seen as an essentially private profession wherein each teacher is an autonomous expert in his own classroom. Few teachers are skilled or experienced in being helpful to peers,and many expect peers to reject or to resist any offers of help. For this peer helping aspect of the training program to have been successful, special sessions on the strategies of peer professional development would have been required.

Two of the respondents felt that because they were on the Core Committee they were looked upon by their fellow colleagues as good examples or as having knowledge of what to do. This put an extra burden on them that was felt in different ways:

> It goes back to the business of assuming we knew which we didn't. Originally, we were supposed to go back and work with our own classrooms, in our own schools, and then that was changed to where we were supposed to represent a committee for the whole system. I think being and abrupt change it was threatening to a lot of the people who were on the committee. And we were running scared and didn't want anything to do with any of it, and so were against it.
>
> I felt the need to watch documentary programs and listen with a more trained ear.

Those teachers who were not part of the Core Committee also were asked for their perceptions of whether committee members ever did anything outside of the formal meetings. A few did not feel anything was done but most did. The latter group felt they could not identify specific assistance they received but supposed the Core Committee members put a lot of time and effort into their work.

We asked both sets of teachers if they would like to receive any additional assistance or training now in order to improve further their role performance in desegregated learning situations. Eleven out of the twenty teachers said "no", nine said "yes", and the reasons for such answers were very varied. The distribution of these responses according to Core or Non-Core membership is presented in Table 2.

Table 2

Requests for Further Training

Group	Requests		
	Yes	No	Total
Core	5	4	9
Non-Core	4	7	11

It is clear from this table that a number of teachers still feel the need for some kind of assistance. It is also clear that members of the Core Committee are more likely to be interested in more advanced training than their non-Core colleagues. There are several possible interpretations of these data; none of which are mutually exclusive: (1) Core Committee teachers, who report a more positive evaluation of training sessions than do non-Core teachers, want more of the program they liked; (2) Core Committee members, who have had a first-hand experience with the newly desegregated situation, see more clearly the need to improve their skills; (3) Core Committee members, who are by and large older and more experienced than their non-Core colleagues, do not have as much recent contact with behavioral science knowledge and resources as their colleagues and realistically assess their greater need for more information; (4) some non-Core teachers, who may have felt coerced into a non-helpful program dealing with what currently are for them abstract and irrelevant issues,

may be more alienated from the program and may want nothing to do with any part of it.

Some of the comments of the teachers who wanted no further help reflect their own sense of self-sufficiency, their resistance to the proposition that interracial teaching might require any new or different skills, or their sense that the helpers might not be especially competent.

> No, I don't know what they could do to help me or anyone else.
>
> No, I feel I could cope with the situation myself. It would all depend on what they have to offer.
>
> No, because I believe the Negro and white children are equal and however we teach one we should teach the other. And I don't feel I need help in this, because I never had any trouble in my classroom and I see no reason to feel that I will have it now.
>
> I think that this only comes through personal experience-experience is the best teacher.

Some teachers did want additional help, however, and it is fruitful to consider the kind of assistance they desired. For the most part, the form of assistance requested was in terms of contact with others and professional sharing of concerns, insights and suggestions for classroom strategies.

> Yes, something on the academic level. How to teach or motivate; how to help the culturally deprived or academically lower student.
>
> Yes, more knowledge of what to do when problems arise. How to handle discipline and how to integrate Negro history into the curriculum.
>
> Definitely; I would like to be in with people who have worked and have had a little more experience with this, whether it's through meetings or discussion groups. I'm very inexperienced myself.
>
> Yes, everybody would benefit from it. The most beneficial kind would be speaking with teachers who have had students bussed to their classrooms.

In order to get more detail on the requests for specific forms of assistance, we asked both groups of teachers to identify useful or potentially useful resources available to them should they need help in planning classroom strategies. In general the responses could be grouped into the following categories:

1. Personal contact with colleagues

Had special counselor to go to if would have problems.

If I have students who are getting bussed in, I would turn to their last year's teacher. Otherwise, I would go through the normal procedure - the principal and a special education teacher.

Other colleagues within the same building.

Somebody rumored there might be a crisis teacher. If I had a problem I guess the first person I would go to would be our grade chairman and I guess the next step would be the principal. And I guess the teachers on the Core Committee are people you could contact. They don't have materials but I guess they could direct you to something.

2. Personal Contact outside the school

Audio-visual--records and roles of the American Negro. Out-side people--professional people, people on the Human Relations Board.

Field trips. I have Negro leaders in the community, or outside areas come in and talk. Since these children mostly live for the minute, I think its better if they come from the surrounding area. Should be a way of bringing this Negro history in as a daily part of the work, instead of just isolating it like Negro History Month or Week.

3. Specific curriculum materials

We have the SRA reading program which is geared to the 4th through 9th grade reading level. But I found that I have a number of students in my classroom now that are at the 2nd grade reading level, so this hasn't been much help for them. We have Readers Digest levels on down to the pre-primary, so those help, but other than that don't have many resources other than gathering from other teachers, and the materials they have left over.

Any number of books, filmstrips and picture files.

Library books about Negroes.

Mimeographed materials. Films. Speakers. Bibliography. Actual books.

4. Special meetings

Meetings, in-service. Different materials on educating Negroes.

Human Relations meetings. The small group discussions were maybe somewhat optimistic to feel any feelings would have been changed. It would have helped to know what the school board's policy is.

A number of other teachers noted that the special human relations program had been helpful for them in identifying problems and resources for later use.

Very few of the 20 teachers interviewed have had the benefit of lengthy and helpful conversations with colleagues. Some gripe sessions were held and sometimes problems with individual youngsters were discussed, but there was minimal conversation among peers about classroom strategies for managing desegregated learning environments. Clearly some teachers felt personal or professional risk would be involved in attempting such sharing. The dangers of peer rejection attendant upon offering to give help that is perceived as meddling or intrusion was a major inhibiting factor. In addition, it seems teachers were constrained by the lack of unambiguous support or even resistance that they perceived in elements of their peers, their school administrators or the community at large.

In our estimation the training program attempted here was both responsible and imaginative. Many school systems beginning racial desegregation have made no effort to retrain teachers or to look at the particular problems involved in interracial education. This system did invent a training program, and moreover, stressed the role of experienced colleagues as program designers, informants, collaborators and helpers. That this program was even attempted seems to us extremely worthwhile; that this program was not wholly successful reflects the educational community's need to engage in more experimentation, learning and new designing of such retraining experiences. In the next section of this report we summarize the conclusions reached in this evaluation and suggest some directions for further experimentation.

Conclusions and Some Implications for New Inservice Designs

This brief study of teachers' responses does not attempt to present a full picture of the myriad problems and processes surrounding school desegregation. But the quotes do provide brief insights into some of the predispositions and reactions of a small sample of teachers who had Negro youngsters bussed into their classrooms. Moreover, these reports do offer some grounds for evaluating an in-service training program designed to facilitate the education-desegregation process.

It appears that one of the major dilemmas faced by teachers in this situation was whether or not to pay special or particular attention to the Negro youngsters. Some teachers felt that the strange and potentially threatening character of the newly desegregated situation required extra care and orientation. Other teachers attempted to meet the special needs of youngsters they expected to be culturally or academically deprived. Typically such deprivation was noted as a socio-economic derivative and not as a racial function. Many teachers felt all youngsters could and should be treated alike, at least in that they should be seen as individuals without reference to any particular racial heritage or problems. These teachers generally argued against paying any special attention or doing anything differently because of the racial character of youngsters or of the classroom.

Some of the evidence indicates that the assistance of scientists might have been useful in aiding teachers to identify some of the issues especially relevant in interracial classrooms. The problems and anxieties with which youngsters enter desegregated situations, the particular need to guide early social interaction patterns, and suggestions regarding seating arrangements represent a beginning agenda in this regard. Further, scholars and practitioners could have collaborated to identify positive criteria to aim for as teaching outcomes. Such background and collaboration might have avoided what appeared here to be some problems in classroom management. For instance, in noting how much alike were youngsters of both races and how easily Negro youngsters adjusted to the predominantly white school, one teacher said:

> My child draws herself white - plays with white dolls, prefers white children to Negro children and has middle class values. They are alike in all ways.

This teacher seemed to see these outcomes as positive, but some researchers report that such preferences are indicative of a Negro child's identity diffusion and lack of clarity about self.[5] These scientists see such white-oriented behaviors on the part of Negroes as the unfortunate but natural outcomes of living as part of a degraded minority in a white-dominated society. They see these phenomena as inhibitory and regressive factors retarding youngsters' health and growth potential; as such they are much to be avoided rather than identified as evidence of positive adjustment. Throughout this report there are a number of other examples of vague generalizations and stereotypes that might have been confronted or reduced by reports from scientists.

A number of teachers felt that administrative elements of the school system failed to provide them with enough support and security in facing desegregated classes. Decisions about who, why, how and when to desegregate were communicated to teachers in ways that they felt offered them little option. Moreover, teachers often did not feel involved in these decisions or able to offer their own expertise in guiding system plans. As a result, some teachers felt quite alienated from the entire experiment. Some teachers on the Core Committee felt they were inadequately rewarded by the school system for the extra time and effort they spent in helping prepare themselves and their colleagues for desegregation. A few of these teachers were resentful about being required to go to what they saw as extra-school meetings and about having new responsibilities for which they received no additional compensation.[6] The perception of administrative non-support was further attributed to some principals' postures at staff meetings and in their daily staff interactions as educational leaders or managers.

Another major source of help or inhibition for teachers' efforts seemed to lie in the peer or collegial system. Some teachers learned about the school board's plan, about Negro youngsters and about successful classroom strategies from peers. Some others were constrained from giving or receiving such learnings because of their concern about peer rejection and

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5 For example, see the literature reviewed in: Goodman, M. Race Awareness in Young Children, N.Y. Collier, 1964.

6 As noted earlier, most sessions were planned during lunch time or during contracted time immediately after school, and in a number of cases substitutes were secured to take over classrooms. The facts of meeting times and teachers' subjective reactions to what were felt by them as burdens can by no means be expected to be consistent.

resistance to the process of professional sharing.

The human relations training program instituted by this school system was seen as useful by some teachers, but as not useful and perhaps even detrimental by others. The meetings among teachers were partly designed to increase peer sharing but they did not seem to contribute significantly to a greater sharing of professional practices. Some teachers enjoyed and felt they profited from these sessions, but most teachers did not have an opportunity to engage in the kind of peer professional exchange that they felt helped them in their classrooms. This is not an uncommon phenomena; in order for such useful sharing to occur special designs need to be generated to reduce peer barriers, to establish professionally relevant communication and expectations, to provide a mechanism for seeing or otherwise understanding what another teacher is doing, and to provide an opportunity to test out the adoptability of a shared teaching strategy for one's own classroom.[7] Such exchange might have clarified apparent inconsistencies in some teachers' reports. For instance, on page 4 a teacher noted that the Negro youngsters shouldn't have to lose face, that:

> You have to give them a way out, an alternative, a choice.

At the same time she reported that:

> You don't treat them as rational people. You just say they are wrong and give no reasons why and go on...sometimes you simply have to send the trouble maker out into the hall, and say when you are ready to come in you may.

In some ways these two statements can be seen as contradictory: saying youngsters are wrong without stating reasons and sending youngsters out of the room to return when they are penitent may be two effective ways to embarrass students and make them lose face. Peer sharing sessions which encouraged colleagues to confront and clarify one another's positions and helped one another plan concrete classroom strategies might have resolved

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7 These issues are reflected and discussed in: Chesler, M. and Barakat, H. The Innovation and Sharing of Teaching Practices I: A Study of Professional Roles and Social Structures in Schools, Cooperative Project 2636 (OE 5-10-241). Fox, R. and Lippitt, R. The Innovation and Sharing of Teaching Practices II: Procedures for Stimulating Adoption and Adaptation of Selected Teaching Practices. Final Report, U.S. Office of Education. Cooperative Research Project No. D-137. Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, The University of Michigan, 1967.

the apparent contradiction in this teacher's perceptions of her classroom processes. In addition, they might surface some reactions to the stereotypes many teachers report about students from lower class backgrounds.

Teachers on the Core Committee often found it difficult to take the initiative in being helpful to peers. Like many other teachers who find themselves called upon to play change agent roles, some of these professionals felt they were in over their heads,and both they and their targets sometimes disparaged both their roles and skills. Teachers who venture into these unchartered areas could profit from specific training in the nature of educational organizations and problems in school change. Other foci of a curriculum for training these teachers in their new roles might include; an examination of the helping process, instruction in techniques of classroom observation and diagnosis, pracitce in giving feedback to peers and organizing peers for discussions of their instructional strategies.[8] Several of the non-Core teachers, like a few of the Core Committee members, resisted going to special meetings on their own time and energy. Future training programs might well offer extra compensation to involved teachers, and/or provide other rewards attendant upon participation.[9]

In order to deal with some of the evaluations presented here, it seems that much of the general resistance to professional development meetings might be alleviated if any future program attempts to fulfill at least 5 general criteria:

(1) the preparation of advance and public justification;
(2) the inclusion of attractive and exciting sessions;
(3) the focus upon material directly useful to teachers' classroom operations;
(4) the inclusion of practice in getting and using colleagues' ideas, and
(5) the receipt of public and enthusiastic administrative support.

With these new directions in mind, the general strategy designed by this school system may be refined and elaborated in ways that approach greater success in this most crucial area of our national educational dilemma.

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8 See Chesler, M. and Fox, R. Teacher Peer Relations in Educational Change. NEA Journal, 1967, 56, 25-26.

9 A number of federally sponsored retraining programs offer participants both additional compensation and an opportunity to earn academic credit.